

European Journal of Social Psychology, Eur. J. Soc. Psychol. **44**, 563–577 (2014)

Published online 1 July 2014 in Wiley Online Library (wileyonlinelibrary.com) DOI: 10.1002/ejsp.2046

Research article

Ingroup and outgroup support for upward mobility: Divergent responses to ingroup identification in low status groups

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Abstract

Members of groups with low societal status can pursue individual upward mobility to improve their status. We examine the conditions under which ingroup and outgroup members are most inclined to support such upward mobility attempts. Whereas both ingroup and outgroup supports are important, there may be tension: dissociation from the low status group may lower ingroup support, whereas association with the low status group may lower outgroup support. Ingroup association can be expressed by communicating one's affective involvement or by behaving in line with typical ingroup practices. As predicted, studies 1 and 2 show that support from the low status ingroup depends more on affective involvement than on behavioral identity expression (BIE). In contrast, studies 3–5 show that support from the high status group is more driven by the upwardly mobile individual's BIE. Mediation analyses show that these opposite patterns are driven by differential processes, prompted by the group's respective positions in the social hierarchy. The findings provide insight into how members of low status groups negotiate the competing demands of the high and low status groups as they pursue upward mobility. Moreover, they show how affective involvement and BIE differentially affect ingroup support and outgroup opposition. Copyright © 2014 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Members of groups with low societal status (e.g., ethnic minorities) may try to improve their individual status, for example, through career success. This is commonly called individual upward mobility (Ellemers & Van Laar, 2010; Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990). In pursuing upward mobility, members of low status groups may face an identity dilemma: association with the low status ingroup, for example, by being emotionally connected to the ingroup or displaying prototypical ingroup behavior, may lead to rejection by the high status outgroup (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009), especially in contexts dominated by members of the outgroup (Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2006). Individuals may attempt to avoid this outgroup opposition by disassociating from their low status ingroup (Ellemers & Van Laar, 2010; Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). However, this dissociation may lead to accusations of ingroup disloyalty, resulting in opposition rather than support for upward mobility from the ingroup (e.g., Contrada et al., 2001; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Such a loss is particularly problematic as ingroup support appears to play a key role in sustaining upwardly mobile behavior in members of low status groups (Levin, Van Laar, & Foote, 2006; Van Laar, Bleeker, & Ellemers, 2014) and may protect individuals during setbacks such as outgroup rejection (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Correll & Park, 2005; Haslam, Jetten, O'Brien, & Jacobs, 2004; Haslam, O'Brien, Jetten, Vormedal, & Penna, 2005; Postmes & Branscombe,

2002). This paper focuses on identity pressures and support faced by upwardly mobile members of low status groups from the ingroup and outgroup. We examine how the ingroup and outgroup respond to two types of ingroup association in upwardly mobile members of low status groups: emotional attachment to the low status group, which we refer to as affective ingroup identification (AII), and expression of behaviors typical for the low status identity, which we refer to as behavioral identity expression (BIE). In five studies, we show that low status groups mainly respond to AII, whereas high status groups respond predominantly to BIE. Further, we show that these opposite response patterns result from differential motivations among low and high status groups, prompted by their respective positions in the social hierarchy.

Behavioral Identity Expression Versus Affective Ingroup Identification

Behavioral identity expression is a prototypical ingroup behavior such as observance of group traditions that helps to confirm group identity (Scheepers, Spears, Doosje, & Manstead, 2006; Spears, Jetten, & Scheepers, 2002; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). AII concerns an individual's emotional/psychological connection with the ingroup (Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999; Tajfel, 1978). Although these

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identity features covary to some extent (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), BIE does not necessarily imply strong AII or vice versa. Behavior corresponding to a social identity, such as foreign accents, may remain, for example, from socialization processes even when emotional group investment has weakened. Also, people may strategically refrain from BIE to avoid expected opposition, such as when gay men refrain from displays of homosexual identity (Barreto, Ellemers, & Banal, 2006; Ellemers, Van Dyck, Hinkle, & Jacobs, 2000; Klein, Spears, & Reicher, 2007; Reicher, Levine, & Gordijn, 1998). As noted, we expect low and high status groups to show opposite preferential responses to these identity features. We start with the low status group.

Responses to Upward Mobility in Low Status Groups

We expect upward mobility support in low status groups to depend more strongly on AII than BIE. Specifically, we argue that members of low status groups are aware that BIE may be less predictive of ingroup loyalty as upwardly mobile members of low status groups may need to strategically adapt behaviors for fear of outgroup rejection. Low AII would then be a more reliable predictor of low ingroup loyalty. Also, AII is key for low status groups: individuals for whom a group membership is emotionally significant tend to pursue goals that favor the ingroup, sometimes even undermining individual interests (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Jetten, Branscombe, Spears, & McKimmie, 2003). Also, when they achieve success, their ingroup categorization may positively reflect on the group (e.g., 'this is what Latino's are capable of!') and lead to aid and sharing of attained resources, thus contributing to group progress (Dovidio et al., 1997; Levine, Prosser, Evans, & Reicher, 2005; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Moreover, low AII suggests a psychological distancing and can suggest that the individual considers the ingroup inferior. Such individuals are commonly rejected to the group's periphery (Jetten, Summerville, Hornsey, & Mewse, 2005; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998), and in various cultures, this is reflected in negative labeling (e.g., 'lost black soul' among African Americans; see also Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Steele, 1992).

Studies 1 and 2 thus examine responses of members of a low status group to AII and BIE of upwardly mobile ingroup members. To allow control over the causal variables, low group status was manipulated in 2 (AII: high/low) X 2 (BIE: high/low) designs in which the actions of an upwardly mobile target (X) are described. We hypothesized AII to have positive effects on upward mobility support (hypothesis 1a) and perceived contribution to group-based progress (hypothesis 1b), and to diminish rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member (hypothesis 1c). These effects of AII were expected to be stronger than those of BIE (hypotheses 2a–c). Furthermore, we expected the positive effect of AII on upward mobility support to be mediated by increased perceived contribution to group-based progress and decreased rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member as an ingroup member (hypothesis 3).

STUDY 1

Participants/Design

Ninety-one undergraduates ($M_{\text{age}} = 20.34$, $SD = 0.82$; 66 women; 25 men) were randomly assigned to a 2 (AII: high/low) X 2 (BIE: high/low) between-participants design, receiving partial course credit or payment (€3).

Procedure

The participants were seated in cubicles and were presented materials on paper. They were asked to imagine that they were members of the 'green-division' of a rowing club with several divisions differing in status. The most prestigious 'blue-division' consisted predominantly of upper class/aristocratic individuals ('blues') and was characterized by traditions and activities differing considerably from the lower status 'green-division'. Although divisions were joined mostly on the basis of family origin, the divisions' boundaries were somewhat permeable in that very good members with a 'green' background could join the blue-division. Participants were asked to respond to the upward mobility of a rower of green descent ('X') who has joined the blue-division and were shown statements by X containing manipulations of AII and BIE.

Manipulation behavioral identity expression/affective identification. Participants were informed that X gave either strong or weak behavioral expression to the green identity concerning dress, hairstyle, behaviors, and traditions (high: 'I behave in line with the green practices, even if it undermines behaving in line with the blue practices'; with for low BIE the word 'blue' inserted instead of 'green'). Subsequently, X gave information about the strength of his affective identification (high: 'I feel strongly connected to the greens. The green identity is deeply entrenched in me and I carry it in my heart'; low: 'I don't feel connected to the greens. The green identity is not very deeply entrenched in me and I don't really carry it in my heart').

Measures. The measures followed 1 = 'strongly disagree' and 9 = 'strongly agree', unless indicated otherwise. *Manipulation checks* were included of AII ('X cares much for the greens') and BIE ('X clearly behaves like a green'). *Upward mobility support* was measured with three items (e.g., 'when X needs support I will not be the one to call on' (recoded), $\alpha = .94$). *Perceived group-based progress* was measured with three items (e.g., 'I think the greens will win prestige thanks to X's transition to the blue-division', 'I think the greens will gain more influence in the rowing club thanks to X's transition to the blue-division', $\alpha = .73$). *Rejection of the upwardly mobile individual as an ingroup member* was measured with three items (e.g., 'I consider X to be a green to a lesser extent', $\alpha = .86$).

Results

Results were analyzed using analysis of variance (ANOVAs).

Manipulation Checks

As expected, X's affective identification was perceived as stronger in the high ($M = 7.15$, $SD = 1.87$) than low AII

condition ($M=3.36$, $SD=1.93$), $F(1, 87)=100.97$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.54$, and X's BIE was perceived as stronger in the high ($M=5.67$, $SD=2.04$) than low BIE condition ($M=3.60$, $SD=1.66$), $F(1, 87)=36.26$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.29$. There were no interactions ($F_s < 1$). As might be anticipated, AII was also perceived as stronger in the high ($M=5.87$, $SD=2.61$) than low BIE manipulation condition ($M=4.68$, $SD=2.65$), $F(1, 87)=10.74$, $p<.01$, $\eta_p^2=0.11$, and BIE was perceived as stronger in the high ($M=5.67$, $SD=2.04$) than low AII condition, ($M=3.78$, $SD=1.96$) $F(1, 87)=25.20$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.23$. Importantly, the effect of the AII manipulation on perceptions of AII still emerges when controlling for perceived BIE, $F(1, 88)=61.15$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.41$. Also, the effect of the BIE manipulation on perceived BIE emerges controlling for AII, $F(1, 88)=22.09$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.20$. Despite the presence of these spill-over effects reflecting the common covariation of AII and BIE in real life, it is important to note that the effect sizes of the intended effects are larger than the effect sizes of the unintended effects. Also, simple main effect analyses showed that the effect of the BIE manipulation on perceived BIE was significant in both AII conditions and that the effect of the AII manipulation on perceived AII was significant in both BIE conditions (all $p_s < .001$). Also, the two independent variables show unique relationships with other variables, as evidenced by the following results.

Upward Mobility Support

As expected, upward mobility was more strongly supported when X evidenced high ($M=6.91$, $SD=1.65$) than low AII ($M=5.01$, $SD=2.17$), $F(1, 87)=22.78$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.21$ (hypothesis 1a). Moreover, upward mobility support did not differ significantly whether X gave high ($M=6.25$, $SD=2.20$) or low BIE to the green's identity ($M=5.67$, $SD=2.06$), $F(1, 87)=2.23$, $p=.14$, $\eta_p^2=0.03$, and there was no interaction, $F(1, 87)=2.35$, $p=.13$, $\eta_p^2=0.03$. Thus, upward mobility support seemed to depend more on AII than on BIE. To be sure that it was indeed upward mobility support rather than a general evaluative response or liking of X that was affected by AII, we performed a multivariate ANOVA also on extra items measuring more general evaluation/liking (three items, e.g., 'my general feeling about X is (positive/negative)', $\alpha=.84$). Whereas higher AII predicted more upward mobility support (as noted in the preceding text) and more liking of X ($F(1, 87)=18.38$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.17$), higher BIE only predicted more liking of X ($F(1, 87)=13.94$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.14$) but did not predict more upward mobility support (as noted in the preceding text), confirming that indeed the results are particular to upward mobility support.

Perceived Group-based Progress

As expected, X's upward mobility was perceived as higher group-based progress for the greens when X manifested high ($M=5.08$, $SD=1.41$) than low AII ($M=4.04$, $SD=1.47$), $F(1, 87)=11.57$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.12$ (hypothesis 1b). Perceived group-based progress did not differ significantly whether X manifested high ($M=4.64$, $SD=1.59$) or low BIE ($M=4.49$, $SD=1.47$), $F < 1$. There was no interaction, $F(1, 87)=1.10$, $p=.30$, $\eta_p^2=0.01$. Thus, consistent with hypothesis 2b, perceived group-based progress depended more on AII rather than on BIE.

Rejection as an Ingroup Member

As anticipated, X was rejected as an ingroup member to a lesser extent under high ($M=4.25$, $SD=1.88$) than low AII ($M=6.26$, $SD=1.74$), $F(1, 87)=33.21$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.28$ (hypothesis 1c). We further found that rejection of X also depended on X's BIE. Higher BIE by X led to less rejection ($M=4.57$, $SD=1.97$) than low BIE ($M=5.93$, $SD=1.95$), $F(1, 87)=15.58$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.15$. There was no interaction, $F(1, 87)=1.57$, $p=.21$, $\eta_p^2=0.02$.

Mediation

Bootstrapping analyses (5000 samples) for estimating direct and indirect effects (Preacher & Hayes, 2004) confirmed that perceived group-based progress and rejection of X as an ingroup member mediated the effect of X's AII (coded: high = 1/low = 0) on upward mobility support (correlations in Table 1). The analyses indicated with 95% confidence that the indirect effect was significant with a point estimate of 1.43 and a 95% bias-corrected and accelerated (BCa; Efron, 1987) confidence interval of .8367 to 2.1768 (direct effect reduced from 1.90, $p<.0001$ to .47, $p=.18$). The two mediators fully mediated the association between X's AII and upward mobility support (specific indirect effects: rejection $b=-.57$, point estimate 1.14, 95% BCa CI .6119–1.9131; perceived group-based progress $b=.28$, point estimate .29, 90% BCa CI .0523–7049). In sum, stronger support for X's upward mobility was offered when X presented higher AII because his upward mobility was perceived as stronger progress for the low status ingroup and because he was considered an ingroup member to a stronger degree (hypothesis 3).

Discussion

Study 1 partially supported our hypotheses. As expected, the extent to which upward mobility was perceived as ingroup progress depended more on affective identification (AII) than

Table 1. Mediation analysis: correlations among variables (study 1/2)

	Perceived group-based progress	Rejection as an ingroup Member	Upward mobility support
Affective identification (AII) ^a	.34**/.34**	-.49**/-.30**	.47**/.22**
Perceived group-based progress		-.65**/-.50**	.59**/.41**
Rejection as an ingroup member			-.73**/-.41**

^aAII was coded 1 (high) vs 0 (low).

** $p < .01$.

on BIE (hypothesis 1b and 2b). Unexpectedly, the extent to which the upwardly mobile ingroup member was rejected as an ingroup member depended on both X's AII and BIE (hypothesis 1c). Overall, however, AII had more influence on ingroup members' evaluation of X's upward mobility than BIE.

The unexpected effect of BIE on the extent to which X was considered an ingroup member corresponds with self-categorization theory that describes the importance of ingroup members' representativeness (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). The more ingroup members differ behaviorally from other ingroup members, and the less they differ from outgroup members in a particular context, the less representative they are perceived by the ingroup. This cognitive process does not necessarily coincide with perceived threat to the positivity of the ingroup. Thus, although refrainment from behavioral expression of the ingroup identity seemed to be less meaningful than weak AII in assessing whether the ingroup member values the ingroup, refrainment from BIE can still elicit rejection via perceptions of representativeness. This process may (co-)explain the extra negative effect of BIE on the extent to which X was perceived as an ingroup member.

We also found evidence for mediation (hypothesis 3). When X's AII was high, his upward mobility was perceived as higher group-based progress, and he was more strongly perceived as an ingroup member, leading members of the low status group to more strongly support upward mobility.

STUDY 2

Study 1 revealed the relative importance of AII in eliciting upward mobility support in low status groups. Study 2 focused more closely on this effect among Dutch ethnic minorities. Also, we examined whether it is *low* or *high* AII (or both) that drives the effect by comparing these experimental conditions with a control condition. Does an individual who displays low AII elicit the wrath of the ingroup, or does high AII increase support? BIE was kept constant: as individual upward mobility often requires behavioral disloyalty in everyday life (i.e., ethnic minorities often need to behaviorally dissociate from their low status group identity), we focused on effects of low versus high AII under conditions of low BIE.

Method

Participants/Design

One-hundred and eighty-six people participated in an online study on 'ethnic minorities and pursuing a career in the Netherlands' through invitations to various institutions serving ethnic minorities, selected work organizations, and the University email distribution system. Twelve individuals were excluded as they were not ethnic minorities, leaving 174 ($M_{\text{age}} = 26.32$, $SD = 9.53$; 127 women; 47 men) ethnic minority individuals (Moroccan 22%/Surinamese 22%/Turkish 15%/Antillean 11%/others 30%). Because people of Moroccan, Surinamese, Turkish, and Antillean descent comprise

65% of Dutch ethnic minorities (CBS, 2012), this sample was an appropriate reflection of the Dutch ethnic minority distribution. Participants were randomly assigned to a one factor ([AII]: high/low/control) between-participants design.

Procedure

Participants read a short passage from an allegedly published interview with an individual of their own ethnic group 'X', who has a successful career. In all three conditions, X explained that he gives weak *behavioral expression* to his ethnic identity: 'when I do things that are relevant for my job I behave in line with typical Dutch practices. Behaving in line with typical customs and traditions of my ethnic group does not really match with my job.' Subsequently, X talks about his emotional attachment to the ethnic ingroup, the section containing the manipulation.

Manipulation affective identification. Participants were informed that X feels either strongly or weakly emotionally attached to their ethnic ingroup (high AII: 'yet, emotionally I feel strongly connected to my ethnic group. I have my ethnic identity very much at heart'; low AII: 'also, emotionally I feel weakly connected to my ethnic group. I do not have my ethnic identity very much at heart.'). In the control condition, X made no statement regarding his AII.

Measures

The dependent variables directly followed the manipulation, followed by the manipulation checks (1 = 'strongly agree' to 7 = 'strongly disagree', unless otherwise indicated). Participants in the control condition were thus not asked about AII until their dependent variable responses were recorded. The *manipulation* of AII was checked with 'how do you assess X's emotional bond with your ethnic group?' (1 = 'very weak' to 7 = 'very strong'). *Perceived BIE* was checked with 'to what extent does X behave corresponding with the traditions and customs of your ethnic group?' (1 = 'hardly' to 7 = 'entirely').

Dependent variables. *Perceived group-based progress* was measured with four items comparable with study 1, adapted to ethnic minority groups (e.g., 'my ethnic group will be respected more by other people thanks to X'; $\alpha = .72$). *Rejection of the upwardly mobile individual as an ingroup member* was measured with four items comparable with study 1 (e.g., 'I do not accept X to be a true member of my ethnic group', $\alpha = .77$).

The measure of *upward mobility support* consisted of two descriptions of concrete situations, each followed by two items that assessed how much participants would support X in that situation. In situation 1, participants meet X for the first time at an informal work related meeting, where X talks about the way he is pursuing a career. In situation 2 participants learn that X is to be the new work manager. After a relatively successful period, X becomes unpopular among many employees, leading them to complain about X. One day, the participant coincidentally runs into X, and during the conversation, X asks the participant for moral support because of the problems he is experiencing. Following each situation, two items assessed how much participants supported X in

these situations (1 = 'I would definitely not do that' to 7 = 'I would definitely do that'). The items following situation 1 were 'I would remark I am proud of X' and 'I would ignore X as much as possible' (recoded). The items following situation 2 were 'I would try to find solutions for X's problems' and 'I would support X' ($\alpha = .58$).

Results

Results were analyzed using ANOVAs.

Manipulation Checks

AII was successfully manipulated, $F(2, 171) = 61.76, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.42$. Tukey *post hoc* tests revealed that X's perceived AII was strongest in the high AII condition ($M = 6.00, SD = 1.66$), followed by the control condition ($M = 4.07, SD = 1.63; p < .001$), and weakest in the low AII condition ($M = 2.47, SD = 1.88; p < .001$). Furthermore, as intended, no differences in participants' perception of X's BIE were found between the three conditions (high AII $M = 2.80, SD = 2.06$; low AII $M = 2.30, SD = 1.60$; control $M = 2.82, SD = 2.16, F(2, 171) = 1.32, p = .27, \eta_p^2 = 0.02$). In all conditions X's BIE was perceived as low, indicated by mean scores below the scale midpoint on perceived BIE ($t = -2.65, p = .01; t = -5.66, p < .001; t = -2.35, p = .02$).

Dependent Variables

AII influenced upward mobility support ($F(2, 171) = 3.94, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = 0.05$), perceived group-based progress ($F(2, 171) = 11.24, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.12$) and rejection of the upwardly mobile individual as an ingroup member ($F(2, 171) = 10.77, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.11$; Table 2). Tukey *post hoc* tests showed that participants supported X's upward mobility to a lesser extent under low AII than in the control condition ($p = .045$) and under high AII ($p = .03$)—with the high AII and control condition showing no significant differences ($p = .99$). Upward mobility support thus decreased when X displayed low AII, whereas display of high AII did not increase upward mobility support compared with the control condition (hypothesis 1a).

Also, X's upward mobility was perceived as ingroup progress to a lesser extent under low AII than the control condition ($p = .002$), and than under high AII ($p < .001$)—with the high AII and control condition showing no significant differences ($p = .64$). Thus, X's lack of AII lowered perceived progress for the ethnic ingroup, whereas high AII did not increase perceived ingroup progress compared with the control condition (hypothesis 1b).

X was rejected as an ethnic ingroup member to a stronger extent under low AII than in the control condition ($p = .047$) and than under high AII ($p < .001$)—with rejection in the high AII condition being marginally weaker than in the control condition ($p = .08$). Thus, rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member increased through low AII and slightly decreased through high AII (hypothesis 1c).

Mediation

Responses in the low AII condition thus differed from those under high AII and the control condition on all dependent variables. Bootstrap mediation analyses showed that the effect of low AII (versus high/control) on upward mobility support was mediated by perceived group-based progress and rejection of the upwardly mobile individual as an ingroup member (Figure 1; correlations in Table 1). Specifically, the total indirect effect of X's AII on upward mobility support through the two mediators was significant (point estimate = 0.12; 95% Bca CI 0.0640–0.1858; direct effect reduced from .15, $p < .01$ to .03, $p = .49$). The two mediators thus fully mediated the association between X's AII and upward mobility support (specific indirect effects: perceived group-based progress $b = .20$, point estimate = 0.06; 95% Bca CI 0.0244–0.1172; rejection $b = -.20$, point estimate = 0.05, 95% Bca CI 0.0190–0.1098).

Discussion

Study 2 extended the study 1 results to real ethnic minority group members, under conditions of low BIE by the upwardly mobile ingroup member. AII positively affected upward mobility support (hypothesis 1a), which was explained by increased perceived group-based progress and lower rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member (hypotheses 1b/1c; hypothesis 3). Comparison with the control condition suggested that the effects were driven primarily by low AII. Although high AII tended to decrease rejection of the upwardly mobile ingroup member relative to the control condition, high AII did not increase upward mobility support and perceived group-based progress. The findings thus suggest that low AII shown by a fellow ingroup member is perceived as harmful, rather than high AII shown by a fellow ingroup member as beneficial.

High Status Group Responses to Upwardly Mobile Members of Low Status Groups

Studies 1 and 2 examined responses in low status groups. As expected, the findings suggested that upward mobility support

Table 2. Effects of affective identification on upward mobility support, perceived group-based progress, and rejection of the upwardly mobile individual as an ingroup-member (study 2)

	Response to affective identification					
	Support		Perc. progress		Rejection	
Affective identification	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
High	5.46 ^a	0.95	5.58 ^a	1.17	1.97 ^a	1.08
Control	5.44 ^a	0.95	5.38 ^a	1.06	2.46 ^a	1.28
Low	5.00 ^b	1.03	4.57 ^b	1.40	3.00 ^b	1.25

Within columns, means with different subscripts differ significantly according to Tukey *post hoc* tests ($p < .05$, two-tailed).

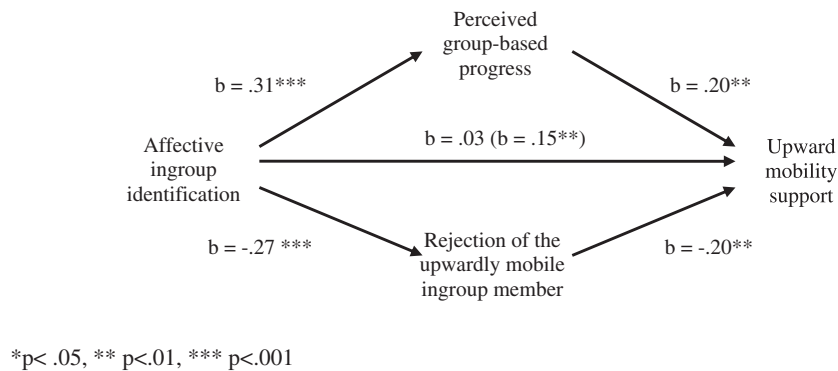


Figure 1. The response of members of low status groups to upwardly mobile ingroup-members: The effect of affective ingroup identification on upward mobility support is mediated by perceived group-based progress and rejection of the upwardly mobile individual as an ingroup member (study 2)

depended more on AII than on BIE. Studies 3–5 examine whether high status groups show an opposite preferential response to these identity features of upwardly mobile members of low status groups.

We expect opposition in high status groups to upward mobility of members of low status groups to be more related to BIE than AII. In many contexts, numerically dominant and high powered high status groups strongly influence prevailing behavioral norms and procedures (Derks et al., 2006; Van Laar, Derks, Ellemers, & Bleeker, 2010). Displays of superordinate American identity, for example, correspond more strongly to high status Euro American identity than (lower status) African American identity (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997; Wenzel, Mummendey, & Walczus, 2007). Correspondence between superordinate and ingroup norms commonly leads high status groups to expect adaptation to ingroup norms from (low status) outgroup members in the same higher order category (Berry, 1997). High status groups are likely to consider BIE in line with the high status group an indication of acceptance of their norms, whereas failure to correspond will be perceived as a dominance threat. Conversely, AII does not necessarily challenge high status dominance (related, Fiske (1993) showed powerful individuals to be relatively uninterested in the psychology of low power individuals).

Therefore, irrespective of the AII of upwardly mobile individuals, BIE corresponding with the low status group is particularly likely to be perceived as a deviation from high status group norms (Derks et al., 2006) and to challenge high status dominance. When feeling such threat, members of high status groups may oppose individuals who appear to challenge current status arrangements (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). We thus examine whether BIE increases opposition to upward mobility and perceived threat (hypothesis 4a/4b) to a larger extent than AII (hypothesis 5a/5b). Also, we test whether the effect of BIE on opposition is mediated by threat perceptions (hypothesis 6).

STUDY 3

Participants/Design

Seventy-four undergraduates ($M_{\text{age}} = 20.62$, $SD = 3.80$; 59 women–14 men) were randomly assigned to a 2 ([AII]: high/

low) \times 2 ([BIE]: high/low) between-participants design. Participants received course credit or payment (€3).

Procedure

As in study 1, the rowing paradigm was employed. Participants were asked to imagine that they were members of a rowing club made up of several divisions differing in status and that they were members of the high status blue-division. They were asked to respond to an upwardly mobile green rower ('X') who has joined the blue-division.

Manipulation behavioral identity expression/affective identification. The manipulations followed study 1. Thus, X displayed either high or low AII with the greens and either high or low BIE of the green identity.

Measures. We included *manipulation checks* of AII ('X cares much for the greens') and BIE ('X clearly behaves like a green'). To measure *perceived threat*, participants indicated how they felt about X as a member of their blue-division (five items: 1 = 'not threatened' to 7 = 'threatened'; 1 = 'not uncomfortable' to 7 = 'uncomfortable'; 1 = 'not stressed' to 7 = 'stressed'; 1 = 'not happy' to 7 = 'happy' (recoded); 1 = 'not pleasant' to 7 = 'pleasant' (recoded); $\alpha = .81$). *Opposition to upward mobility* was comparable with the study 2 measure of upward mobility support: two descriptions of concrete situations involving X and the participant, followed by items measuring support/opposition to upward mobility, creating a five item scale ($\alpha = .82$). In situation 1, a number of blue-division members want to exclude X from the rowing team, completing the rowing season without X. X is unaware of this. Participants indicated the extent to which they supported/opposed X staying on the team (three items, e.g., 'would you plead for or against X?' 1 = 'absolutely against X' to 7 = 'absolutely for X' (recoded)). In situation 2, the blue-division's president has decided that all team members are eligible as team leader, making X also eligible. Participants indicated the extent to which they supported/opposed X as team leader (two items, 'if the president asks my opinion I would indicate I consider it a bad idea for X to become team leader', 'If the president asks my opinion I would indicate I would be glad for X to become team leader' (recoded), 1 = 'absolutely' to 7 = 'absolutely not').

Results

Results were analyzed using ANOVAs.

Manipulation Checks

As expected, X was perceived as presenting higher AII in the high ($M = 6.05$, $SD = 1.16$) than low AII condition ($M = 3.68$, $SD = 1.16$), $F(1, 73) = 86.04$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.55$, and as showing higher BIE in the high ($M = 5.23$, $SD = 1.72$) than low BIE condition ($M = 3.15$, $SD = 1.42$), $F(1, 70) = 42.38$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.38$; interaction on perceived BIE $F(1, 70) = 2.64$, $p = .11$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.04$; perceived AII $F(1, 70) = 3.23$, $p = .08$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.04$. Again, AII was also perceived as stronger in the high ($M = 5.43$, $SD = 1.58$) than low BIE condition ($M = 4.36$, $SD = 1.88$), $F(1, 70) = 26.49$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.27$, and BIE was perceived as stronger in the high ($M = 5.54$, $SD = 1.82$) than low AII condition, ($M = 3.73$, $SD = 1.87$) $F(1, 70) = 11.09$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.14$. Here, too, the important thing to note is that the effect sizes of the intended effects are larger than the effect sizes of the unintended effects. Also, simple main effect analyses showed that the effect of the BIE manipulation on perceived BIE was significant in both the high ($p < .001$) and low AII conditions ($p < .01$) and that the effect of AII on perceived AII was significant in both BIE conditions (both $ps < .001$). Further, the effect of the AII manipulation on perceptions of AII still emerges when controlling for perceived BIE, $F(1, 71) = 49.68$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.41$ and the effect of the BIE manipulation on perceived BIE emerges controlling for AII, $F(1, 71) = 23.40$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.25$.

Upward Mobility Opposition

As expected, participants opposed upward mobility more when X showed high ($M = 3.79$, $SD = 1.14$) rather than low behavioral expression of the green's identity ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.05$), $F(1, 70) = 4.55$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$ (Hypothesis 4a). X's AII with the greens did not affect opposition to X's upward mobility ($M_{\text{high}} = 3.49$, $SD = 1.19$; $M_{\text{low}} = 3.51$, $SD = 1.06$; $F < 1$). Also, there was no interaction ($F < 1$). Thus, as expected, opposition to upward mobility depended on X's BIE rather than affective identification with the greens (Hypothesis 5a).

Perceived Threat

As anticipated, participants perceived more threat when X gave high ($M = 3.67$, $SD = 1.00$) rather than low behavioral expression to the green's identity ($M = 2.94$, $SD = 1.03$), $F(1, 70) = 9.16$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.12$ (hypothesis 4b). X's AII was unrelated to perceived threat ($M_{\text{high}} = 3.24$, $SD = 1.16$; $M_{\text{low}} = 3.33$, $SD = 0.99$; $F < 1$), and there was no interaction ($F < 1$). These results confirm that the perception of threat depended on X's behavioral expression of the green's identity rather than X's affective identification with the green's identity (hypothesis 5b).

Mediation

Bootstrap mediation analyses confirmed that perceived threat fully mediated the effect of behavioral expression of the

green's identity on opposition to X's upward mobility (hypothesis 6; correlations in Table 3). The indirect effect of BIE on opposition to X's upward mobility through perceived threat was significant ($b = .62$, point estimate = 0.45; 95% Bca CI = 14.09–8679; direct effect reduced from .55, $p < .05$ to .10, $p = .66$).

Discussion

Study 3 supported the hypotheses. In high status groups, opposition to upward mobility and perceived threat were raised by behavioral expression of low status identity by the upwardly mobile low status group member (hypothesis 4) and more so than by AII (hypothesis 5). Also, the effect of BIE on upward mobility opposition was mediated by perceived threat (hypothesis 6). The experiment mirrored the study 1 methodology, changing only the perspective of participants into high status outgroup members. While members of low status groups responded most to AII (study 1), study 3 revealed that high status groups respond to BIE. Behavioral expression of the low status identity raised perceptions of threat in the high status group, leading to stronger opposition to upward mobility of a member of the low status group.

STUDY 4

Study 4 replicates the study 3 pattern among members of natural groups (White ethnic majorities). Specifically, we conducted an experiment in which the AII and BIE of an upwardly mobile ethnic minority individual were manipulated. Again, we expected that ethnic majorities would respond with opposition to BIE of upwardly mobile ethnic minorities, because BIE is a better indicator of the extent to which the importance of the high status social identity is challenged.

Participants/Design

One-hundred and sixty-four Dutch White majority junior and senior high school students were randomly assigned to a 2 (AII: high/low) \times 2 (BIE: high/low) between-participants design ($M_{\text{age}} = 16.83$, $SD = 0.79$; 81 women; 67 men). One participant was excluded from the analyses because of missing data on upward mobility opposition.

Procedure

Participants were asked to imagine working in a team with an ethnic minority co-worker ('X') employed for a trial period. X and the participant are team members. During this period, X indicates that he would like to prolong his position and move up within the work organization. A contract extension would thus be an important upward mobility step for X. The trial period is almost complete and the team manager has to decide on extending X's contract. The participant's task was to respond to X's contract extension and X's ambitions to move up.

Manipulations behavioral identity expression/affective identification. After the introduction, participants were informed of X's AII and BIE: X showed either high or low

Table 3. Mediation analysis: correlations among variables (studies 3/4)

	Perceived threat	Upward mobility opposition
Behavioral identity expression ^a	.34**/.40**	.25*/.38**
Perceived threat		.61**/.71**

^aBehavioral identity expression was coded 1 (low) vs 2 (high).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

AII (high: 'I feel strongly connected to my ethnic group. The relationship with my ethnic group is deeply entrenched in me and I carry it in my heart'; low: 'I don't feel connected to my ethnic group. The relationship with my ethnic group is not very deeply entrenched in me and I don't carry it in my heart'). Further, X gave either high or low BIE to the practices of his ethnic group (high: 'I behave fully in line with the typical practices of my ethnic group, even if these practices conflict with typical Dutch practices'; low: 'I behave fully in line with the typical Dutch practices, even if these practices conflict with typical practices of my ethnic group').

Measures. *Manipulation checks* of AII ('X cares much for his/her ethnic group') and BIE ('X behaves in line with the typical practices of his/her ethnic group') were included (1 = 'strongly disagree' to 7 = 'strongly agree'). *Perceived threat* was measured as in study 3 with participants indicating how they felt about extension of X's contract (five items $\alpha = .82$). *Opposition to X's upward mobility* was measured with five items assessing attitude toward extension of X's contract and his movement up in the work organization (e.g., 'in my opinion X should receive a permanent work contract' (recoded); $\alpha = .81$).

Results

Results were analyzed using ANOVAs.

Manipulation Checks

As expected, X was perceived as showing stronger AII in the high ($M = 6.38$, $SD = 1.34$) than low AII condition ($M = 2.82$, $SD = 1.74$), $F(1, 159) = 219.90$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.58$, and as showing stronger BIE in the high ($M = 5.87$, $SD = 1.45$) than low BIE condition ($M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.64$), $F(1, 159) = 142.25$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.47$. Perceived AII was not affected by the BIE manipulation ($F < 1$), but the AII manipulation had a marginal effect on perceived BIE, $F(1, 159) = 3.58$, $p = .06$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.03$. Also, the two-way interaction affected perception of AII, $F(1, 159) = 3.92$, $p = .049$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.02$, and BIE, $F(1, 159) = 4.07$, $p = .045$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.03$. Specifically, simple main effect analyses showed the effect of high versus low BIE on perceived BIE was stronger under low ($M = 5.88$ vs $M = 2.56$; $F(1, 159) = 93.99$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.37$) than high AII ($M = 5.85$ vs $M = 3.49$; $F(1, 159) = 50.85$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.24$). Further, the effect of high versus low AII on perceived AII was stronger under low ($M = 6.56$ vs $M = 2.50$; $F(1, 159) = 136.58$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.46$) than high BIE ($M = 6.20$ vs $M = 3.09$; $F(1, 159) = 85.48$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .35$). Importantly, the effect of the AII manipulation on perceptions

of AII still emerges when controlling for perceived BIE, $F(1, 160) = 225.36$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.59$. Also, the effect of the BIE manipulation on perceived BIE emerges controlling for perceived AII, $F(1, 160) = 154.16$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.49$.

Upward Mobility Opposition

As expected, opposition to X's upward mobility was stronger with high ($M = 2.79$, $SD = 1.06$) than low BIE ($M = 2.04$, $SD = .71$), $F(1, 159) = 28.05$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.15$ (hypothesis 4a), but no differences were found between high ($M = 2.48$, $SD = .94$) and low AII ($M = 2.37$, $SD = 1.03$), $F(1, 159) = 1.12$, $p = .29$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.01$. There was a marginally significant interaction, $F(1, 159) = 3.35$, $p = .069$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.02$, suggesting that the effect of BIE on upward mobility opposition was significant in both the high ($F(1, 159) = 26.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.02$) and low AII condition ($F(1, 159) = 4.72$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 < 0.01$). Affective identification predicted upward mobility opposition when high ($F(1, 159) = 4.33$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 < 0.01$) but not when low BIE was displayed, $F < 1$. Results suggest that, also in this ethnic context, opposition to upward mobility depended on BIE rather than AII (hypothesis 4b).

Perceived Threat

As expected (hypothesis 5a), participants perceived more threat when X gave high ($M = 3.02$, $SD = 0.96$) rather than low behavioral expression to ethnic identity ($M = 2.26$, $SD = 0.80$), $F(1, 159) = 31.26$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.16$. More threat was also perceived when X presented high ($M = 2.76$, $SD = 0.98$) rather than low AII ($M = 2.53$, $SD = 0.93$), $F(1, 159) = 4.05$, $p = .046$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.03$. There was no interaction, $F < 1$.

Mediation

Bootstrap mediation analyses showed that the effect of X's BIE on increased opposition to upward mobility was mediated by perceived threat (Hypothesis 6; $b = .68$; point estimate = .51; 95% Bca CI = .3236-.7462; direct effect reduced from .75, $p < .0001$ to .24, $p = .04$ - correlations in Table 3).

Discussion

Study 4 replicated effects of BIE and AII on opposition to upward mobility among White ethnic majorities. As expected, higher BIE of the upwardly mobile low status group member increased perceived threat and upward mobility opposition (hypothesis 4). Although both BIE and AII affected perceived threat, results suggest that BIE may be more important (hypothesis 5). Mediation analyses confirmed that behavioral expression of the low status identity raised threat in ethnic majorities, leading them to oppose upward mobility (hypothesis 6).

The finding that AII also raised perceived threat was not predicted and differs from study 3, where there was no effect of AII on perceived threat. Probably, this divergence is due to the different experimental contexts: hypothetical group and interethnic context, respectively. Rejection of the importance of the high status identity was probably more influenced by high AII with an ethnic minority group than

with a hypothetical Nevertheless, as expected, behavioral expression of low status ethnic identity seemed to affect perceived threat more strongly than AII did. Moreover, whereas BIE led to opposition to upward mobility, AII did not. Also whereas perceived threat following BIE led to opposition to upward mobility, perceived threat following AII did not.

STUDY 5

The results of studies 1–4 were supportive of the main hypothesis that whereas upward mobility support in low status groups mainly depends more on AII, high status groups oppose upward mobility mainly because of BIE. These results were obtained in experimental studies. Study 5 was a correlational field study among ethnic majority group members in organizations where we examined their responses to AII and BIE in their actual ethnic minority work colleagues. This enabled examination of whether the results can be replicated in real life situations in which identity features such as BIE and AII are likely empirically associated with other variables. Can AII and BIE be distinguished, and do the effects hold in these real life situations? Furthermore, we can test the practical importance of the findings on real life opposition to upward mobility, examining whether BIE (and/or AII) continues to affect opposition to upward mobility when controlling for other relevant variables.

Participants/Procedure

Local work organizations in the Netherlands were sent 10–30 surveys (depending on size). The organizations were contacted by phone two times with reminders to distribute the survey among employees. In the accompanying letter, participants were asked to complete a questionnaire about ‘colleagues and cooperation’ within organizations, which they returned in a return envelope. Of these, 232 questionnaires (29%) were returned. Fifty-eight questionnaires could not be analyzed because they were incomplete or completed by ethnic minorities. Also, some participants chose a target not belonging to an ethnic minority group. After removal of the unusable questionnaires, 174 ethnic majorities ($M_{age} = 38.55$, $SD = 13.87$; 112 women–62 men) employed at various types of work organizations (30% business/28% public service/23% semi state-controlled) were included in the analyses. Correlations between variables are presented in Table 4.

Measures

Participants were asked to write down initials of maximum five ethnic minority colleagues in their work organization and to select one according to specific instructions. To create variability in this selection, four types of surveys were distributed, differing merely in the selection instruction. Specifically, participants were asked to select the ethnic minority colleague (denoted as ‘X’ from here on) from their list, who according to the participant had either the following:

(i) the strongest tendency to behave in line with practices typical for his/her ethnic group; (ii) the weakest tendency to behave in line with practices typical for his/her ethnic group; (iii) the strongest emotional attachment to his/her ethnic group; and (iv) the weakest emotional attachment to his/her ethnic group. Prior to the instruction, it was explained that ethnic minority individuals can differ in the extent to which they are emotionally attached to the ethnic minority group and the extent to which they behave in line with ethnic practices.¹ *Perceived BIE* was measured with three items (e.g., ‘X’s behaviors deviate from typical Dutch practices’ (recoded); $\alpha = .74$). Three items measured *perceived affective identification* (e.g., ‘I think X has a strong emotional bond with his/her ethnic group’; $\alpha = .88$). Responses were recorded on seven-point scales (1 = ‘strongly disagree’ to 7 = ‘strongly agree’).

Following these measures, participants were asked to imagine that they would form a work team with other employees in their organization, including X. The manager responsible appoints X as the work team leader. The remaining questions focused on participants’ responses to X’s leadership (and measured control variables).

To measure *perceived threat*, the same study 4 five items were used, $\alpha = .89$. *Opposition to X’s leadership* was measured with five items (e.g., ‘I would oppose leadership by X in the work team’; 1 = ‘I would definitely not do that’ to 7 = ‘I would definitely do that’; $\alpha = .91$).²

To control for other variables that might explain (apparent) associations between identity features and opposition, we assessed the *perception of X’s current work performance* (‘how do you evaluate X’s current work performance?’; 1 = ‘very poor’ to 7 = ‘very good’), *professional friendship with X* (‘to what extent do you maintain friendly relations with X at the workplace?’; 1 = ‘not at all’ to 7 = ‘to a very strong degree’), *participant gender*, and the *hierarchical difference*

¹By having participants select one target from their list of ethnic minority colleagues and varying the instructions, we sought to lessen the likelihood that participants would choose whom they perceived to be the most prototypical ethnic minority group member, such as colleagues who behave most in line with typical ethnic practices.

²To check that the four scales (perceived BIE, perceived AII, perceived threat, and opposition to leadership) could indeed be distinguished, we conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (Bentler & Wu, 2004) using fit-indices non-normed fit-index (NNFI), the comparative fit-index (CFI), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) and chi-square (χ^2 ; Diamantopoulos & Siguaw, 2000; Schumacker & Lomax, 2004). The results supported the validity of the constructs, showing that participants differentiated between BIE and AII, as well as between perceived threat and opposition to leadership by X: first, we tested the four-factor solution, with perceived BIE, AII, perceived threat, and leadership opposition as separate constructs, which showed acceptable fit (NNFI=0.90, CFI=0.92, RMSEA=0.10, $\chi^2(98)=256.53$, $p < .00001$). Subsequently, a three-factor model was tested in which perceived BIE and perceived AII were merged into one factor, examining whether these identity features merely reflected a global measure of ingroup identification. This model showed lower fit (NNFI=0.83, CFI=0.86, RMSEA=0.13, $\chi^2(101)=373.65$, $p < .00001$). Finally, we tested a three-factor model with perceived threat and leadership opposition merged as one factor, examining whether negative responses to X’s leadership merely reflected global negativity toward X’s leadership. This model also showed low fit (NNFI=0.84, CFI=0.87, RMSEA=0.12, $\chi^2(101)=356.37$, $p < .00001$). Chi-square difference tests showed that the four-factor model fitted significantly better than each of the three factor models ($\chi^2(3)=117.12$, $p < .005$ and $\chi^2(3)=99.84$, $p < .005$, respectively).

Table 4. Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations among variables (study 5)

	M	SD	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Age of participant	38.55	13.87	-.08	-.48**	.38**	.05	-.02	-.08	.02	.02	.04
2. Gender of participant ^a	0.29	0.96		-.09	-.06	.16*	-.03	-.09	-.07	-.18*	-.25**
3. Type of organization ^b	0.30	0.46			-.14 [†]	.01	.10	-.01	-.08	-.08	-.08
4. Hierarchical difference participant and X	3.39	1.10				-.07	-.13 [†]	.17*	.12	.23**	.30**
5. Perception of X's work-performance	5.52	1.40					.38**	-.38**	-.21**	-.63**	-.62**
6. Professional friendship with X	4.48	1.76						-.22**	-.07	-.40**	-.37**
7. Perceived behavioral identity expression	3.13	1.43							.41**	.47**	.39**
8. Perceived affective identification	5.06	1.40								.16*	.16*
9. Perceived threat	2.88	1.43									.77**
10. Opposition to leadership by X	3.04	1.71									

^aGender of the participant was coded 1 (women) vs -1 (men).

^bType of organization had three categories: business, public service, and semi state-controlled. For this correlation table, we coded this into two categories: (1) business versus (0) public service or semi state-controlled.

^cParticipants recorded the actual (perceived) ethnicity of X. For the purposes of this correlation table, this was coded into two categories: (1) Moroccan versus (0) other ethnicity, to distinguish the group with the lowest educational/work outcomes in the Netherlands from the other groups.

[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

between the participant and X ('compared to X, my position in the work organization is...'; 1 = 'much lower than X's position' to 5 = 'much higher than X's position').³

Results

Preliminary Analyses

The sample of selected ethnic minority colleagues (100 women, 71 men, and three unknown) represented the distribution of ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands (Moroccan 22%/Surinamese 29%/Turkish 15%/Antillean 5%/others 29%—according to participants' assessment). On the basis of participants' estimations, we also found a good age-spread of the selected colleagues (16–25 = 29%, 26–35 = 30%, 36–45 = 22%, 46–55 = 17%).

Identity features of selected colleagues. Overall, the mean level of perceived BIE was lower ($M = 3.13$, $SD = 1.43$) than the mean level of perceived affective identification of the selected ethnic minority colleagues ($M = 5.06$, $SD = 1.40$), $t(173) = -16.54$, $p < .001$. A univariate analysis of variance revealed that the selection instruction successfully generated variance on the measures of perceived BIE ($F(3, 170) = 12.90$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.19$) and perceived AII ($F(3, 170) = 11.33$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.17$). Tukey *post hoc* tests revealed that the instruction for high (vs. low) AII led to selection of target X's (ethnic minority colleagues) with higher AII ($M = 5.83$, $SD = 1.06$ vs. $M = 4.40$, $SD = 1.48$; $M_{dif} = 1.43$, $SE = 0.28$, $p < .001$). Similarly, the high (vs. low) BIE instructions led to target selections with higher BIE ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.70$ vs. $M = 2.63$, $SD = 1.03$; $M_{dif} = 1.00$, $SE = 0.28$, $p = .002$). As might be expected, the correlation between AII and BIE is positive ($r = .41$) indicating that the concepts are positively related but clearly distinct (17% shared variance). Targets selected for high AII also showed higher BIE than targets selected for low AII ($M = 3.89$, $SD = 1.37$ vs. $M = 2.47$, $SD = 1.05$; $M_{dif} = 1.42$, $SE = 0.28$, $p < .001$). Similarly, targets selected for high BIE showed higher AII than targets selected for low BIE ($M = 5.43$,

$SD = 1.16$ vs. $M = 4.68$, $SD = 1.39$; $M_{dif} = 0.75$, $SE = 0.28$, $p = .04$). Nevertheless, the variables show unique relationships with other variables, as evidenced by the results. A univariate analysis of variance further revealed that the selection instruction did not affect professional friendship with X, hierarchical difference with X, opposition to X's leadership, and perceived threat (all $ps > .10$) but affected quality of X's work performance ($F(3, 170) = 4.37$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.07$). Specifically, Tukey *post hoc* tests revealed that the instruction for low BIE led to selection of target X's with better work performance ($M = 6.11$, $SD = 0.99$) than the instructions for high BIE ($M = 5.15$, $SD = 1.81$; $M_{dif} = .96$, $SE = 0.29$, $p < .01$) and high AII ($M = 5.26$, $SD = 1.36$; $M_{dif} = .85$, $SE = 0.29$, $p = .02$). Importantly, the effect of the AII instruction on perceptions of AII still emerges when controlling for perceived BIE, $F(1, 84) = 14.49$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.15$. Also, the effect of the BIE instruction on perceived BIE emerges controlling for AII, $F(1, 84) = 5.53$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.06$. The effects of the instructions were thus not attributable to perceptions of one dominant identity feature.

Impact of Perceived Identity Features on Leadership Opposition and Perceived Threat

Hierarchical regression analyses were performed to examine effects of perceived BIE and perceived AII on perceived threat and opposition to the leadership by the ethnic minority colleague. All variables were centered (Aiken & West, 1991), except for participant gender (effect-coded female = 1/ male = -1). Control variables were entered in stage 1, perceived AII in stage 2, and perceived BIE in stage 3. The interaction was entered in stage 4.

First, we tested the relationships of perceived AII and BIE with opposition to leadership by X while controlling for other relevant variables. As shown in Table 5, stage 1 revealed that there was higher opposition to X's leadership when X's work performance was perceived as poorer, the participant had a higher organizational position than X and had less friendly work relationships with X. Furthermore, men more strongly opposed X's leadership than women. Stage 2 showed that perceived AII did not predict opposition to leadership by X, whereas stage 3 showed, as expected, that perceived BIE

³We also tested whether the degree of participants' private friendship with X, X's gender, or X's (estimated) age needed to be included as control variables. However, these did not explain associations between identity features and opposition beyond the control variables already included.

Table 5. The impact of perceived identity features on opposition to leadership and perceived threat: results from hierarchical regression analyses (study 5)

Regression stage		Predicting opposition to leadership			Predicting perceived threat		
		<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	ΔR^2	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	ΔR^2
Stage 1 (controls)	Perception of X's current work performance	-.64	-8.67***		-.55	-8.69***	
	Professional friendship with X	-.14	-2.45*		-.15	-2.93**	
	Gender of the participant ^a	-.28	-2.86**		-.13	-1.50	
	Hierarchical difference between the participant and X in the organization	.36	4.17***	.49***	.21	2.77**	.46***
Stage 2	Perceived affective identification	.00	0.38	.00	.01	0.17	.00
Stage 3	Perceived behavioral identity expression	0.16	2.11*	.01*	.26	4.05***	.05***
Stage 4	Perceived behavioral identity expression \times perceived affective identification	-.03	-0.54	.00	-.07	-1.68	.01

^aGender of the participant was coded 1 (women) vs -1 (men).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

was an additional predictor of opposition to X's leadership. Stage 4 (the interaction) was nonsignificant. Thus, as expected, the results showed that the perception of an ethnic minority colleagues' BIE was a predictor of ethnic majorities' opposition to leadership by the ethnic minority colleague (hypothesis 4a). Also as expected, X's perceived BIE was a better predictor of opposition to X's leadership than perception of X's AII with his/her ethnic minority group (hypothesis 5a).

Second, we tested the relationships of perceived AII and perceived BIE with perceived threat. Stage 1 revealed higher threat was perceived when X's work performance was perceived as poorer, the participant had a higher organizational position than X, and had less friendly work relationships with X. Stage 2 revealed that perceived AII did not predict perceived threat. Perceived BIE did predict perceived threat in stage 3. Thus, as expected, perceived BIE was associated with increased perceived threat (hypothesis 4b) and predicted perceived threat better than perception of AII (hypothesis 5b).

Mediation

Bootstrap mediation analyses including controls confirmed that perceived BIE by the ethnic minority co-worker increased opposition to his/her leadership in ethnic majority colleagues because it increased perceived threat (hypothesis 6; Figure 2; indirect effect: $b = .68$, point estimate = 0.16; 95% Bca CI = 0.0797–0.2531; direct effect reduced from .14, $p < .05$ to $-.01$, $p = .83$).

Discussion

Study 5 offers support for hypotheses 4–6. As expected, perceived BIE increased perceived threat and opposition to

leadership by an ethnic minority colleague (hypothesis 4). Also, as expected, BIE rather than affective identification predicted opposition and perceived threat (hypothesis 5). Lastly, the effect of BIE on increased leadership opposition was explained by higher perceived threat (hypothesis 6). Although, overall, participants perceived relatively low levels of BIE in ethnic minority colleagues, it was this identity feature that robustly raised opposition to leadership by these colleagues. These results were found in actual work settings, indicating high ecological validity. Moreover, the relationships of BIE with opposition and perceived threat were rather robust: we controlled for various influences such as perceived work performance of the ethnic minority colleague, the hierarchical work position, and the extent to which participants maintained friendly relations with the ethnic minority colleague.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Members of low status groups pursuing upward mobility can associate with their low status identity through psychological connection with the low status group (AII) and/or by behaving in line with typical ingroup practices (BIE). Perceivers' responses to these identity features of upwardly mobile members of low status groups were central in the present paper. Five studies supported the main hypothesis that low and high status groups exhibit opposite preferential responses to AII and BIE of upwardly mobile members of low status groups. Study 1 suggests that upward mobility support in low status groups depended on AII (hypothesis 1) more than on BIE (hypothesis 2). Study 2 suggests that compared with

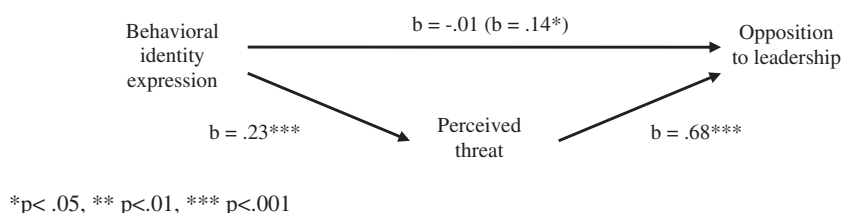


Figure 2. The response of members of high status groups to upwardly mobile members of low status groups: the effect of behavioral identity expression on opposition to leadership is mediated by perceived threat (study 5)

a control condition upward mobility support decreased as a result of low AII but was not particularly affected by high AII. AII increased mobility support in low status groups because the upwardly mobile ingroup member was then perceived as part of the ingroup and upward mobility was perceived more strongly as contributing to group-based progress (hypothesis 3).

When examining the responses of members of high status groups, we found that affective identification hardly raised opposition. Thus, AII maintained upward mobility support in low status groups and elicited little opposition from the high status group. Moreover, studies 3–5 revealed that responses in high status groups were opposite to those in low status groups: Members of high status groups opposed BIE (hypothesis 4) more than AII (hypothesis 5). Also, in high status groups, the effect of BIE on upward mobility opposition was mediated by increased perceived threat (hypothesis 6).

The effects of the investigated identity features were found when using both hypothetical groups and more natural intergroup contexts with ethnic minority and majority groups, indicating satisfactory ecological validity. Furthermore, we combined correlational methods (study 5) with various experimental designs (studies 1–4), thus compensating weaknesses of one method with strengths of another. The correlational field study in work organizations (study 5) established that ethnic majorities were indeed able to distinguish between AII and BIE in ethnic minority colleagues. Furthermore, study 5 demonstrated the effects of AII and BIE to be robust, such that their effects hold when controlling for various other highly relevant variables. The experimental studies further suggested opposite responses of high and low status groups. The experimental design of study 3 mirrored the experimental design of study 1, only changing the participant's perspective from low to high status group member. This mere change of perspective sufficed to reverse the relative perceived importance of BIE versus AII. This illustrates that the opposite effects were not attributable to use of different research methods or inherent differences in the nature of the manipulations.

Another strength of the studies is that (hypothetical) real-life situations were used to measure upward mobility support. Participants for instance indicated how they would act when their upwardly mobile ethnic minority colleague wanted to become a full team member. Such behavioroid measures lie closer to actual support behavior than more global attitudinal support measures. In fact, they lie closest to observations of actual behaviors when actual observations are impractical or too obtrusive (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977). Moreover, outcomes such as being chosen as work team leader represent real-life upward mobility transitions decisive for actual career progress.

A limitation of the studies is that our manipulations of AII and BIE were not fully independent. This means that we cannot be certain that the effects of AII are due purely to AII, and that the effects of BIE are due purely to BIE in these studies. However, we believe that it does not affect our claim that low and high status groups exhibit opposite preferential responses to AII and BIE of upwardly mobile members of low status groups. That is, as the manipulations were dependent in both study 1 (ingroup perspective) and in studies 3 and 5 (outgroup perspective), the opposite pattern of responses

in low and high status groups despite this dependency is extra support for the hypotheses. Of course, AII and BIE are likely to be related in real life. For example, Muslim women may feel that it is not possible to have high AII and not wear a headscarf in a work-context or academic-context. Thus, in certain cases, members of low status groups may feel that a single BIE may signal AII. Enforcing majority norms may then severely hinder AII. More generally, maintenance of AII depends somewhat on positive intragroup contacts, and behavioral conformity to high status norms may cause interference. For instance, when upward mobility success depends on joining social clubs or living in areas considered 'appropriate' by the high status group, low status group members may be less able to combine upward mobility with maintaining emotionally significant intragroup relationships. The current work suggests that members of low status groups may then lose ingroup support, not because they behave in line with high status group norms but because they fail to display AII. By contrast, (even stringent) behavioral conformity demands that are limited to a work or academic setting might offer more opportunities for maintaining AII.

In the current studies, AII was operationalized as the emotional attachment to the low status group, whereas BIE refers to the expression of behaviors/practices typical for the low status *as opposed to* the high status group. Although this difference may seem a methodological imprecision, we argue that this accurately reflects the differential nature of these identity features. Our operationalization of BIE reflects natural behavior limits that are absent for psychological identification: one can affectively identify with multiple groups at the same time but can only behave at any time according to the norms of one group. This difference is also not able to explain the results. As we showed, the relative importance of the same manipulations of AII versus BIE reverses when the participant's perspective is simply altered from low to high status group member (compare studies 1 and 3).

In the current studies, we focused on *expressed* BIE and AII. If members of the low status group had reason to perceive that an upwardly mobile ingroup member is strategically claiming high AII in an attempt to sway the low status group (e.g., Barreto, Spears, Ellemers, & Shahinper, 2003; Barreto et al., 2006; Ellemers & Barreto, 2006; Klein et al., 2007), then we expect upward mobility support to fit with the low AII pattern. Klein et al. (2007) refer to such intentional behavioral expressions (or suppressions) of social identity aimed at affecting audiences as 'identity performance' (see also Barreto et al., 2003; Barreto et al., 2006; Ellemers & Barreto, 2006). BIE and AII will thus be evaluated differently depending on whom the perceiver believes to be the audience to whom the behavior is expressed (cf. Hornsey & Imani, 2004). Also, social conventions governing communication about groups may be partly at work in explaining responses to BIE and affective identification (e.g., see Sutton, Elder, & Douglas, 2006). Thus, there could be a consensus among observers (whether part of the group or not) that the ingroup should be more concerned about affective identification and the outgroup more about BIE. The current results show that simply changing the perspective of a perceiver—whether one new to the situation in the minimal group studies (studies 1 and 3), or involved as a real group member (studies 2, 4, and 5), and

from an ingroup member (studies 1 and 2) to an outgroup member (studies 3, 4, and 5), changes the response, indicating the importance of ingroup or outgroup perspective in determining the relative importance of affective identification and BIE on support.

One question is whether upward mobility is essential to the findings. Would members of low status groups equally oppose low affective identification in members of their group who are not upwardly mobile and be less concerned about BIE? Similarly, would members of high status groups not always oppose high BIE and be less concerned about affective identity expression? In the current studies, all individuals were upwardly mobile, and we are thus not able to examine this. However, theoretically, we can be clear that, as in all intergroup research, it is the intergroup rather than the intragroup setting that makes loyalty and threat to groups most salient and relevant. While likely members of low status groups indeed prefer members of their group to be high in affective identification and members of high status groups prefer members of low status groups always to evidence low BIE of their low status identity, these aspects become particularly noteworthy when ingroup loyalty is at stake and when individuals are threatening the status of the high status group (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Jetten et al., 2005; Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Marques et al., 1998; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Steele, 1992). Indeed, as noted in early formulations of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974, 1975, 1978), people only start determining their behavioral preferences when they perceive cognitive alternatives to the status quo. Thus, the predictions we examine here pertain to situations in which relevant changes are likely to be considered—in this case, because group members pursue upward mobility.

The current findings offer several contributions to the existing literature. First, they suggest that the distinction between AII and BIE may be useful to members of low status groups pursuing upward mobility. Previous research has shown that public expression of ingroup ties with the low status group can increase negative attitudes in high status groups (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Yogeeswaran, Dasgupta, Adelman, Eccleston, & Parker, 2011) and that giving in to the outgroup is also problematic, because lack of ingroup association can raise ingroup opposition (e.g., Contrada et al., 2001; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Postmes & Branscombe, 2002). Our findings suggest that differentiating between AII and BIE can overcome this dilemma. Displaying AII seems to enhance ingroup upward mobility support. At the same time, upwardly mobile members of the low status group need then not to be concerned about BIE. Also, AII hardly seems to evoke opposition in the outgroup, as high status outgroups seem to care more about BIE. When considered in the context of work on assimilation (Berry, 1997; Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdržálek, 2000; Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002; Rohmann, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006), this suggests that majorities primarily strive for behavioral assimilation. While majorities may generally appear to express concern about identity in low status groups, the strength of the current article is that it is able to distinguish behavioral and affective forms of identity expression. The current results thus suggest that when majorities express concern about wanting

immigrant minorities to 'become Dutch' or 'French' or 'German', their primary concern is behavior. We would argue that if the high status group was confident of BIE, concern about AII would diminish. Similarly, if the low status group was confident of AII, concern about BIE would diminish. Our findings therefore suggest that the identification demands of the low and high status group are not fully contradictory. This is important also as ingroup support is a key resource for members of low status groups, sustaining upward mobility attempts even under threat of outgroup opposition (Levin et al., 2006; Van Laar et al., 2014). Moreover, sustained ingroup identification has positive effects beyond upward mobility: protecting disadvantaged group members' self-esteem and well-being when confronted with identity related rejection, such as discrimination and prejudice (Levin et al., 2006; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002).

Second, the current findings contribute to the intragroup dynamics literature, offering insight into how groups assess whether individual group members' actions are beneficial or harmful for the ingroup by examining the likely group level consequences of ingroup members' actions. In doing so, members of low status groups take into account the context in which the behavior occurs (Derks et al., 2006). Although, in general, groups tend to (psychologically) reject ingroup members who depart from typical ingroup practices (e.g., Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988), deviance can be tolerated in contexts in which group-based progress is perceived to be at stake (Morton, Postmes, & Jetten, 2007). Consistent with this work, studies 1 and 2 showed that individual upward mobility was indeed perceived as potential progress for the low status group. Members of low status groups usually can expect direct *material* progress from upward mobility but can only expect *symbolic* progress for the group to the extent that the upwardly mobile member indeed, in the presence of outgroup members, maintains a link with the low status group. An important contribution of the current work is the demonstration that in such situations, groups can turn to AII rather than behavioral deviance as a gauge for the group-level consequences of ingroup members' actions.

Third and related, this work contributes to the literature on rejection processes in ethnic minority groups. Mixed results have been reported on the occurrence and effects of rejection of upwardly mobile ethnic ingroup members following deviation from behavioral ingroup norms (e.g., Contrada et al., 2001; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986 versus Cook & Ludwig, 1997). It appears that at times, successful low status group members are greatly appreciated despite their nonprototypical behavior, whereas at other times, nonprototypical behavior appears a reason to reject. The current findings suggest that such rejection dynamics in low status-groups depend more on AII than BIE. Possibly, in low affectively identifying ingroup members, low BIE is assessed as symptomatic for their weak psychological connection to the group. The current data suggest that the expression of high AII with the low status ingroup may help low status group members maintain ingroup support even when they adapt their behavior to demands of the high status outgroup. In this way, the current studies provide important insight into the manner in which members of low status groups negotiate the competing demands of the high and low status group as they pursue upward mobility.

Moreover, the findings suggest pointers for societies and organizations interested in providing supportive contexts for upwardly mobile members of low status groups and a basis for the development of concrete interventions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Financial support for this research was provided by a Dutch National Science Foundation Mozaïek grant (NWO, grant number 017.001.200). We thank Janneke Boevink, Jimmy van Dijk, Sinem Akgün, Dennis Zethof, Hanneke Brouwer, Joleen van Essen, and Ruben Sanavro for their help with data collection. We also thank Olivier Klein, Maarten Zaal, Edwin Boezeman, and two anonymous reviewers for helpful comments.

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